Policy implementation in Indian Olympic sport

International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics

ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/risp20

Policy implementation in Indian Olympic sport: exploring the potential for policy transfer

Urvi Khasnis, Pippa Chapman, Tynke Toering & Dave Collins

To cite this article: Urvi Khasnis, Pippa Chapman, Tynke Toering & Dave Collins (2021) Policy implementation in Indian Olympic sport: exploring the potential for policy transfer, International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics, 13:4, 623-640, DOI: 10.1080/19406940.2021.1939764

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/19406940.2021.1939764

Published online: 14 Jul 2021.

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF SPORT POLICY AND POLITICS
2021, VOL. 13, NO. 4, 623–640
https://doi.org/10.1080/19406940.2021.1939764

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Policy implementation in Indian Olympic sport: exploring the potential for policy transfer

Urvi Khasnis[a], Pippa Chapman[a], Tynke Toering[b] and Dave Collins[a]

[a]Moray House School of Education and Sport, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, UK; [b]Institute of Sport Studies, Hanze University of Applied Sciences, Groningen, The Netherlands

ABSTRACT

An important factor affecting sports development in India has been a longstanding issue with deploying policy initiatives introduced as early as 2001. Consequently, this paper explores policies implemented in India till today, highlighting two main issues; inadequate consideration of certain aspects of policy formulation and lack of effective implementation. Policy transfer is then explored as an option to overcome formulation issues of lack of feasibility, financial assistance and knowledge. The success of policy transfer (both external and internal) would, however, depend on how effectively India manages to implement the policies. India can formulate the best policies but, if they are not implemented effectively, the return might remain low. Consequently, we highlight the need for India to prioritise effective policy implementation whilst considering policy transfer as an option to overcome formulation issues.

ARTICLE HISTORY
Received 7 July 2020
Accepted 27 May 2021

KEYWORDS
Indian sport; policy implementation; policy learning; policy transfer; Olympic sport

Introduction

The Olympic Games have tremendous popularity, especially evident from the 2016 Rio Olympics where a record of 206 nations participated (Otamendi *et al*. 2020). Although India was one of these, India's performance at the Olympics, and more generally at international sporting events, remains poor, except for cricket. Indeed, cricket is one sport in which India has achieved tremendous international success and notably, is also the country's most popular sport (Chelladurai and Nair 2017). Despite recent successes by athletes, such as PV Sindhu, India's success is still limited in sports other than cricket (Kesavan 2016), the focus of the current paper.

With the ever-increasing popularity of the Olympics, nations realised that international sporting success could be of economic, cultural and political significance. These advantages can be realised if nations possess assets in the form of world-class elite athletes (Houlihan and Green 2008, Houlihan and Zheng 2013). Consequently, academic interest within the sports field increased, specifically about the importance of and impact of sport policies (Houlihan 2002). Sport become an important aspect of government interventions, mainly in the form of discrete sport policy with concomitant funding and support for elite and community sport development initiatives (Hoye *et al*. 2010).

India is no stranger to this continuous competition and has, over the years, introduced numerous policy initiatives aimed at providing essential resources, such as financial assistance and infrastructure. Despite India being the second most populous country in the world, with a fast-growing economy, it is still deemed as an underperformer in sports (Chelladurai *et al*. 2002, Chelladurai and Nair 2017, The Economic Times 2019a), with only two medals at the 2016 Olympics (Kesavan 2016).

CONTACT Urvi Khasnis u.a.khasnis@sms.ed.ac.uk Moray House School of Education and Sport, University of Edinburgh, Holyrood Road, Edinburgh EH8 8AQ, United Kingdom

This is clearly not due to lack of investment in sport, as India has managed to implement numerous initiatives (Chelladurai and Nair 2017). Policies introduced so far, however, do not seem to have led to the establishment of an effective high-performance system.

Of course, India is not the only country experiencing difficulties progressing in sports and it has been suggested that it is possible to learn from other countries; indeed, that policies are transferable across national borders (Houlihan 2002). This is known as policy transfer, whereby one political system uses the knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements, institutions and ideas from another (past or present) to develop their own (Dolowitz and Marsh 2000, Cairney 2012). India could, therefore, engage in policy transfer to understand how other countries have dealt with issues it is facing.

Consequently, the purpose of this paper is, firstly, to outline the challenges that India potentially continues to face in relation to formulating and implementing successful policies to improve high-performance sport and, secondly, to discuss the potential use of policy transfer for sport in India.

Sports in India

India is known for being a complex country, with great religious, ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity (Nicholson *et al*. 2011). This diversity, coupled with societal issues like gender discrimination, socio-economic status, financial conditions, and cultural barriers obstructs sport development, making it hard to achieve sporting success (Riordan and Krüger 1999, Taylor *et al*. 2015). India, in comparison with more economically developed nations, still has a low per capita income and high poverty rates, making public investible resources scarce (Mahapatra 2020, Mukherjee 2020). Religion too, affects sports in a country as religious beliefs could contribute to restricted sports participation, thus affecting development (Chandran 2016). For example, among certain religions, female sporting participation is very uncommon and, as a multi-cultural and multi-religious country, sports in India are affected to a large extent (Jona and Okou 2013). Aside from these societal factors, the level of development of a nation also affects the success of sports. Some nations do not have the option of investing largely in sports as they are compelled by more basic needs, whereas others voluntarily prioritise such sectors to invest in. These issues, to a large extent, do seem to explain why nations have different sporting standards (Chandran 2016).

These issues are, however, not sufficient to explain India's poor sporting performance, as there are other countries with similar issues that have still managed to perform well. For example, countries such as Kenya and Jamaica have low levels of per capita income but are still top performers in certain sports. In this regard, Majumdar observed, 'India does not have a sports culture' (Chandran 2016). With India predominantly being academically and economically focused, Indian parents have always prioritised education. For Indian parents, education has always been a preferred pathway, mainly due to the perception that education could lead to a more stable and certain career than sports (Navigus Blogs 2017). The focus placed on education, coupled with the perception that sport is not a good career to pursue, clearly limits the number of Indians that are involved in sports (Sajad 2018). Although, the recent success achieved by a few Indian athletes such as Neeraj Chopra, PV Sindhu, Sakshi Malik (BBC News 2016, Thomas 2016, Ramesh 2019) has seen a slow change, with younger parents being more open to their children pursuing a sporting career (Times of India 2019, The Economic Times 2019b).

These societal and economic challenges notwithstanding, India has invested in elite sport, including approximately USD 5 million in its preparation for the 2016 Olympics (The Financial Express 2016). Additionally, there have been numerous initiatives to develop sport in India from 1954 onwards (Chelladurai *et al*. 2002), which are outlined in the next section. The question is, however, why these significant investments have yielded only limited returns.

Significant policy initiatives in India

In 1954, the Indian government took its first step to promote sports by creating the All India Council of Sports (AICS). The AICS acted as an advisory body, informing the government on numerous areas

including national sports policies, government funding of national sport governing bodies, and the coaching of elite athletes. The next significant policy initiative was in 1982, when a specific government department for sport, the Ministry of Sport (now the Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sport, MYAS), was established. Next, in 1984, India introduced its first ever National Sports Policy. Additionally, the Sports Authority of India (SAI) was set up to promote the development of coaches and physical education teachers, participation in sport and physical activity, and infrastructure. Thereafter, to emphasise the importance of sport and physical education in the education sector, the National Education Policy and two distinct government units, the Netaji Subhas National Institute of Sport (NSNIS) and the Lakshmibai National College of Physical Education (LNCPE) were introduced in 1986 (Chelladurai *et al*. 2002).

After these initial steps from 1954 to 1986, India continued to introduce different National Sports Policies, the significant ones being in 2001, 2007 and 2011 (National Sports Policy 2001 n.d., Sports Bureau Draft:Comprehensive Sports Policy 2007 2007, Government of India 2011). In the 2001 national policy, India introduced a dual aim of mass participation in sport and excellence at the elite level. India is not the only country to have such a dual focus as sports policies of other countries have also focused on both mass participation and excellence at the elite level. For example, Australia implemented twin objectives focused on excellence in elite sport performance and increased participation in sport activities for all. Contrastingly, in Canada, the primary focus of the federal intervention was elite sport whilst the responsibility of recreation and mass participation was left with provinces, territories and municipalities (Green and Houlihan 2005). In fact, as per the 2001 policy, India had a similar structure, as state governments were mainly responsible for promoting mass participation whereas the central government and the SAI would collaborate with the Olympic association and National Sports Federations (NSFs) to promote excellence at the elite level. Sport, as per the Indian Constitution is a State subject, therefore, each State is responsible for incorporating the national policies within their policies (Chelladurai *et al*. 2011).

Taking these two aims forward, in 2007, mass participation in sport policy was proposed to include the following features: sports for all, universalising sports facilities in educational institutions, sports facilities in rural and urban areas, mass participation for sports culture and competitions. Similarly, objectives for excellence at the elite level included talent identification, sports nurseries, sports schools and academies, centres of excellence, high-quality coaching and other technical support staff. Providing infrastructure, scientific support to each sports discipline, offering financial assistance to athletes during and after their career, targeting various advantages such as health, recreational, economic benefits to provide a sense of national pride were also included with an aim to adopt a more holistic approach to sport development (Sports Bureau Draft:Comprehensive Sports Policy 2007 2007). Unfortunately, these policies saw very little improvement in the Indian sport field and the main aim of the 2011 policy, National Sports Development Code of India (NSCI), was to implement new strategies to achieve objectives set by the previous policies (Government of India 2011).

Aside from these policies, other initiatives with an aim to succeed in high-performance sport were also introduced. The National Sports Talent Search Scheme (NSTSS) was launched in 1985 to identify sports talent in the 8–14 years age bracket and develop them into medal prospects. Another more recent initiative is the Target Olympic Podium Scheme (TOPS) launched by MYAS to fund potential Olympic medallists. Forty potential Olympic medallists from various disciplines such as athletics, badminton, boxing, sailing, shooting and wrestling (Business Standard News 2019) were identified and provided financial assistance of Rs 50,000 (approximately USD 650) per month (Chelladurai and Nair 2017). With the dual aim mentioned in the sport policies, the 'come and play' scheme was also implemented in 2011, ensuring sports facilities are not just used by elite athletes but by the masses for recreational purposes. The aim of this was to promote a healthy lifestyle by encouraging the population to get involved in some sort of sports activity. These government initiatives, however, did not seem to be sufficient to support all athletes coming from India's huge population. Recognising the pressure the government was facing, the private sector began supporting the athletes. Many

private organisations, such as the Olympic Gold Quest (OGQ), have been established to support Indian athletes, financially and otherwise (e.g., providing athletes with sport psychologists) (Olympic Gold Quest n.d.). Similarly, many private companies are now providing jobs to Indian athletes, enabling them to train full time (Hannon 2010, Shirotriya 2019).

Policy implementation in India

Although India has introduced many initiatives it is still far behind the top sporting countries, potentially due to the improper implementation of policies (Chelladurai *et al*. 2011). Universally, implementation of policies is truly considered the Achilles heel of Indian administration (Maheshwari 2003) and this is no different for Indian sports. Hogwood and Gunn (1984) attribute failure of policy implementation to three main factors: bad execution (failure to execute as intended), bad policy (executed properly but fails to have the desired effect) and bad luck (when it is carried out and should work, but it is undermined by factors beyond the control of policy-makers) (Cairney 2012). There are examples of each of these in sport policy implementation in India.

As noted above, the NSNIS and the LNCPE, were established with an aim to promote sport and physical education as early as 1986 (Chelladurai *et al*. 2002). The quality of education provided by these institutes, however, is still heavily criticised (Business Standard News 2019). Similarly, the NSCI codes to increase transparency and accountability were first introduced in 2011, but even today the MYAS is struggling to get the state sports federations to implement them (Laghate 2017, The New Indian Express 2019). Sports and politics in India seem to have a complex relationship. The central government agency has appointed a working group to develop a robust sport governance code, but the ability to implement it is constrained by political actors from the same party. Such a contradiction could be explained by the prevalence of individual politicians in office-bearing positions in NSFs. The NSCI code is an example of this complex relationship. The 2011 NSCI code was found to be limited in scope, following which, in 2017, the MYAS developed an expert working group composed of sports lawyers, athletes and experienced sports administrators to draft a more rigorous sport governance code. This code was still not implemented until 2020, due to resistance from influential politicians potentially having roles in NSFs and their allies in political and sporting decision-making circles (McLeod *et al*. 2020). Another example could be the Indian Olympic Association (IOA) itself. The summer and winter Olympics include 35 sports, but the IOA has 39 constituent and affiliate bodies with several of the bodies being non-Olympic sport bodies. These non-Olympic sport federations seem to be created because of the ease to manage smaller bodies and thereby secure their votes. With no stipulated criteria for becoming members of a sporting body and an ultimate aim of staying in power, an incestuous and nepotistic club of sports administrators is created by appointing people close to you. To put all of this into perspective, the six medals won by India at the 2012 London Olympics, was mainly believed to be because of support from private organisations such as OGQ and Mittal Champions Trust and the athletes themselves, rather than support from the NSFs (Kaur and Kaur 2019). It has, however, been established within the policy implementation literature that even where politics appears to be the reason for implementation failure, there is often more to it: political 'interference' is often (though by no means always) a manifestation of factors ignored or missed in the policy-making process (Agarwal and Somanathan 2005).

Other examples of the longstanding issue with deploying policy initiatives include the lack of sufficient, appropriate infrastructure and lack of development in coaching for elite athletes and scientific support. Despite these components being included in sport policies since 2001 India continues to be criticised for the available infrastructure, quality of home-grown coaches and a lack of sport science support (Basra 2016, Polson and Whiteside 2016, Raj 2018, Rasquinha 2018, Business Standard News 2019). An issue reported with the TOP scheme has been that a large portion of the allocated budget goes to only a few athletes, especially those already receiving enough funding from elsewhere. This essentially leaves the other athletes, more in need of the funding, with very minimal financial assistance (Kumar 2018, Bose 2020). Likewise, the NSTSS was introduced as

early as 1985 for talent identification and development (TID), but the current TID systems (e.g., the Khelo India Youth Games, KIYG) are still criticised for not being the strongest in identifying talented athletes and also giving a fair chance to the immense talent pool India is believed to have (Chelladurai and Nair 2017, Sanyal 2018). Furthermore, although mass participation was specified as a goal in all the sports policies and the 'come and play' initiative was introduced, it was observed that the policies of the State governments were not consistent with this goal. Physical Education, especially in schools, was emphasised only because it could promote excellence in sports and there was no attention given to sport and physical activity contributing to health and fitness either in Chelladurai et al. report or in other government policies (Chelladurai *et al*. 2011).

All the examples discussed in this paper highlight some longstanding issues with policy implementation in India, already identified as a major drawback of the Indian administration (Maheshwari 2003, Yadav 2010). Issues with policy implementation in India suggest a range of problems in relation to the seven conditions highlighted for successful policy implementation, and indeed the avoidance of failure outlined by Cairney (2012). These conditions are; a clearly understood set of objectives, the appropriateness of the policy solution, the provision of sufficient resources, having people with appropriate knowledge and skills implementing the policy, existence of minimal dependent relationships, that ongoing support is in place and that external factors do not undermine the policy. Of particular note are issues in relation to cooperation and understanding of the policy between policymakers and implementers, lack of appropriate resources for policy implementation and a lack of appropriate knowledge and skills amongst those responsible for policy implementation. Each of these will now be discussed in turn.

Firstly, with regards to the disconnection between policymakers and implementers, Chelladurai *et al*.'s (2011) work specifically used the example of Tamil Nadu, one of the more advanced States in India, to explore potential reasons for the poor development of sports in India. Tamil Nadu is the southernmost part of India and is the eleventh largest, seventh most populous and most urbanised State. It is among the top five states in gross state domestic product (GDSP) (Pai and Holla 2020). In 2002, the Tamil Nadu Government launched the 'World Beater Talent Spotting Scheme' (WBTSS) for talent identification, which was to be adopted by all schools. Unfortunately, more than 32% schools did not implement the scheme. A lack of physical education teachers (35% schools) and not being aware of the WBTSS scheme were reported as the two main reasons for the failure to implement the scheme. Acknowledging this, the Sports Development Authority of Tamil Nadu (SDAT) launched a web-based Tamil Nadu School Mail System in 2004 to ensure all schools received the necessary information, and to ensure results of the WBTSS could be accessed through the mailing system. Most of the schools, however, did not have internet connection at the time, which highlights that the policy solution could have been inappropriate and bound to fail (Cairney 2012). This example highlights that the scheme introduced in Tamil Nadu seemed to be formulated without studying its feasibility, making it difficult for the concerned agencies to successfully implement it. Unfortunately, as highlighted by the 2008 Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) of India report on Tamil Nadu, if the implementation of sports policies in one of the more advanced states in India is so haphazard, the situation might be a lot worse in the others.

Secondly, a major problem contributing to failure of policy implementation in India might be the financial support provided to sports. Though it is acknowledged that the government does offer some useful funding for sportfor example, funding for the 2016 Olympic team, the comparatively meagre budget allocations for sports by various governments were not proportionate with the ideals set forth in the national policies. For example, in 2020–21, the NSFs will receive Rs 245 crore (approximately USD 32 million), which is Rs 55 crore (approximately USD 7 million) less than they received in 2019–20. Similarly, the budget allocation for SAI has also been reduced from Rs 615 crore (approximately USD 81 million) to Rs 500 crore (approximately USD 66 million), which may not be sufficient to achieve the goals set (Farooqui 2020). It is understandable that India is not one of the countries that can afford to spend huge amounts of money on sport as it needs to satisfy other more immediate, basic needs (Mahapatra 2020).

Chelladurai *et al*. (2011), however, highlighted the lack of serious effort on the part of the governments to ensure the proper implementation of the articulated policies through the effective distribution of the allocated funds. Their work further concluded that India's efforts to provide important facilities, such as quality coaching and elite training facilities, including access to consistent medical and scientific advice or opportunities for competitive experiences, seem to be uncoordinated, inconsistent in quality and financially wasteful (Green and Houlihan 2005, Nicholson *et al*. 2011).

Finally, a lack of knowledge about the most recent concepts within the sports field could also be a reason for the limited sport development achieved by India. For instance, the TID models/systems implemented so far are purely based on competitive results and physical fitness tests (Government of India 2018). Top sporting countries, however, use not just physical tests and competitive results but also include concepts such as assessments of behaviours and past experiences in sport in their TID systems (for example, UK Sport's Talent Transfer programmes-Bloyce and Smith 2009, Houlihan and Chapman 2009) as research in the TID area criticises the use of one-off anthropometric, technical and competitive testing protocols to select those with talent (e.g., Abbott and Collins 2004, Abbott *et al*. 2005). In fact, results from many studies, together with junior and adult ranking lists in multiple sports, highlight that high success rates of junior athletes often correspond with less success when these same athletes become adults. Even with 11- and 12-year-olds, experts (let alone tests) were less than 10% accurate in predicting adult success. In fact, research highlights that TID needs a biopsychosocial approach and these factors do need due consideration before implementing TID systems (Pankhurst 2014).

Further analysis of the sport policies in India and the examples mentioned above highlight a general lack of learning as one of the potential reasons for the long-standing issue with policy implementation. Learning implies improved understanding, as reflected by an ability to draw lessons about policy problems, objectives or interventions. Policy literature highlights the importance of learning from previous policy initiatives. Policy learning is essentially concerned with lessons about policy content–problems, goals, instruments and implementation designs (May 1992). Policy failures are useful since failure serves as a trigger for considering policy redesign and a potential occasion for policy learning. Whereas policy successes might be said to provide a stronger bias for learning by making it possible to trace conditions for success. However, dissatisfaction serves as a stronger stimulus for a search for new ideas than success (May 1992).

The Physical Education, School Sport and Club Links (PESSCL) and the Physical Education and Sport Strategy for Young People (PESSYP) in England in the 2000s can be considered a useful example of policy learning (Phillpots 2013). PESSCL was launched in 2002 and found success in developing new infrastructure and increasing young people's participation in sport and physical activity. The policy was revised in 2008 and the new strategy, PESSYP, was launched. The overarching policy aims remained the same but there was further investment in order to meet extended targets and create a world-class system for Physical Education and School Sport (PESS) for all young people which might stimulate, increase and sustain their participation in sport.

In the Indian context, despite the lack of feasibility highlighted in the Tamil Nadu example, the future policies still seem to have issues with successfully considering the feasibility of initiatives before implementing them. For example, with the KIYG, selected athletes are registered with accredited academies for further training. However, 893 athletes out of the 1518 selected, dropped out of the academies in 2018–19 primarily because of a lack of academic integration. Furthermore, the list was announced midway through the academic year making it nearly impossible for many athletes to change their school and join the designated academies (Subramaniam 2020). Similarly, although, along with the NSNIS, some newer Universities and sport courses have been introduced to promote sport and physical education, the quality of education delivered still seems to be questionable (Hindustan Times 2018). The reported issue with the education in Indian sport is the quality (Business Standard News 2019), therefore, merely establishing newer institutions may not be the best solution. To really benefit from these universities and courses, learning from the past

shortcomings, India could benefit from paying more attention to the *quality* of education it provides rather than the quantity of universities or courses introduced.

It seems that India may not have successfully managed to improve its strategies by learning from past mistakes and/or successes. For instance, even with the initiatives in the 2001 national sports policy, India had still not achieved mass participation or excellence in high-performance sport and was therefore still struggling to emerge as a sporting nation compared to countries, such as China or Cuba. Consequently, the 2007 National Sports Policy aimed at addressing the identified deficiencies in the country's sport development system such as access to sport and physical education opportunities at educational institutions and rural areas, encouraging indigenous sports and implementing a holistic and athlete-centred sporting pathway. Despite this attempt at policy learning, India has only managed to achieve limited sporting success (Kesavan 2016). Learning, and especially learning from failure, however, does not necessarily lead to success and a limited understanding of ways to address the policy problem might not lead to a 'right' answer. For instance, the TID systems currently prevalent in India all have been reported to be based on one-off anthropometric, competitive testing protocols that are widely criticised in the TID literature (e.g., Pankhurst 2014). It is, therefore, suggested that India could engage in policy transfer as an option to understand what it could do to reform its strategies to achieve success.

Policy transfer

With international sport rapidly expanding, countries often face similar problems such as drug abuse, violence in sport, and exploitation of young athletes. With the increase in similar problems faced by countries came an assumption that countries could possibly learn from other countries and that policies are transferable across national borders (Houlihan 2002). Policy transfer is the transfer of policy solutions or ideas from one place to another (Cairney 2012). Different aspects of policy may be transferred: 'policy goals, policy content, policy instruments, policy programs, institutions, ideologies, ideas and attitudes and negative lessons' from different locations: international, national and local. Rose (1993) noted that transfer is most common between nations with similar policy conditions, ideology and geography, but globalisation means that the source of transfer need not always be a nearby nation. A further consideration of policy transfer emphasised by Dolowitz and Marsh (2000) is the degree, and they propose four levels of transfer: copying, emulation, combinations and inspiration. Copying is the direct replication of a policy into a new space, emulation is the transfer of key principles of the original policy, combinations are mixing different policies and inspiration is where the original policy inspires the new policy without replicating the original.

Policy transfer is not a new idea and is certainly employed by many nations. Indeed, Cairney (2012, p. 250) notes that 'some countries tend to innovate, while others emulate', which has certainly been true within sport policy though exactly which nations innovate and which emulate is not fixed due to the ever-developing global elite sport field. The common and objective measures of success by medals or championships won (Shibli *et al*. 2014) means that 'successful' nations are often the focal points of nations looking to emulate policy. It should also be noted that nations with specific reputations may be more likely to be the countries that are emulated. Australia's great success in sport through the 1990s and the early 2000s meant that others sought to emulate Australia. Indeed, many features of the UK high-performance system were transferred (often uncritically-cf. Collins and Cruickshank 2012) from Australia. For example, the UK's focus on TID, including the talent stream of the Labour government's PESSCL and PESSYP programmes and UK Sport's talent transfer programmes that began in 2006 have many similar features to Australia's 'Talent Search' policy (Green 2004, Bloyce and Smith 2009). But things change and so do trend setters! Now that the UK's success in Olympic sports in particular has grown, it is now a focal nation for countries seeking to learn lessons and develop their high-performance systems.

The role of policy actors

Policy transfer involves a range of actors – both within and outside of government – to advise and encourage policy transfer (Dolowitz and Marsh 2000). While governments tend to have ministries/departments responsible for sport, there is a network of non-government organisations at local, national and international level, plus a growing field of researchers, consultants and other experts that might be involved in policy transfer. Some of these interest groups may be professionals such as coaches or national or international federation executives and representatives who are regularly exposed to the practices of other nations and therefore may be well suited to advise on learnings from other countries (Tan *et al*. 2019).

Effectiveness of policy transfer

The success of policy transfer can depend on a number of variables and Cairney (2012) particularly notes that a full understanding of the transferring policy and whether it will work in practice need to be considered–in short, there is both a high-level policy transfer consideration and an implementation consideration. Current research tends to focus on the role of recipient nations in transfer and potential recipient nation factors that could affect policy transfer, but the role of the source and potential source nation factors are often ignored. Policy transfer does in fact require consideration of both source and recipient contexts and is certainly not a unilateral decision. Factors from the recipient nation that could affect the successful transfer of a policy include a range of constraints relating to demand (policy demand and potential resistance), programmatic (uniqueness and complexity of the programme), contextual (path dependency, existing institutional structures, political context and degree of politicisation, resources and ideology compatibility) and applications (institutional substitutability and structure, scales of changes and programmatic modification and adjustment). Whereas, willingness of the source nation, training groups (club vs university-based), coaching structures and coaches' economic conditions, the governing system (particularly the rigidity between the sport's governing bodies and coaches), geographical convenience could influence the selection of a source nation or even whether it would be feasible to actually implement the policy transfer ambition (Tan *et al*. 2019).

When transferring policies, another point of consideration is the possibility of unintended negative consequences. Three factors that can negatively affect success of policy transfer have been highlighted: uninformed transfer, incomplete transfer and inappropriate transfer; one or a combination of these can lead to policy failure. Uninformed transfer means that there is a lack of information about the policy, incomplete transfer means that not all components of the policy have been considered and inappropriate transfer means that appropriate measures to adapt the policy for the new context are not apparent (Dolowitz and Marsh 2000). In their study, Tan *et al*. (2019) reported some unintended negative consequences that came with policy transfer between Australian and Chinese elite swimming which included the individualism and materialism among top male Chinese swimmers which conflicted with the traditional Chinese values of patriotism and collectivism. China, however, successfully managed to learn from this negative impact and modified its strategy to engage only in technical knowledge transfer as opposed to deeper-level value and ideology-related transfer (Tan *et al*. 2019)

In sum, policy transfer is a complex process and needs consideration at various levels: what is being transferred, where the transfer is occurring, who is involved in the transfer. Specifically, for a country like India that is known for its complex composition, careful consideration of policy transfer aspects such as what is transferred and where it is transferred from is crucial. The following section will therefore explore policy transfer in the Indian context.

The potential for policy transfer in India

What to transfer and where to transfer it from?

When considering the potential for policy transfer, it is necessary to consider what specific components of sport policy could be transferred successfully to India. The complexities of Indian context may mean that the transfer of policy which requires specific systems or infrastructure could be problematic. For example, the USA's collegiate sport system has proven to be very successful in terms of developing young talented athletes in a broad range of sports due, at least in part, to it being a well-organised, well-accepted and well-resourced system. However, the structural and political context of the USA generally, and the structure of higher education and infrastructure of college sport more specifically, would make this system very challenging to implement in a country like India.

A better approach might be to focus on transferring policies more related to the technical side of sport. As evident from Tan *et al*.'s (2019) detailed examination of policy transfer for swimming from Australia to China, focusing on a smaller scale and less complex transfer can lead to successful changes in the recipient nation. A key feature highlighted was that technical knowledge may not conflict with the core values of the recipient institution and therefore is more likely to be transferred successfully. Similarly, at present, India hires foreign coaches in almost all sports (e.g., Rasquinha 2018) but, rather than simply employing such coaches to deliver high-performance programmes, sport federations could engage in a formal policy transfer process where technical knowledge is transferred from source nation coaches to Indian coaches and athletes. This type of transfer may be simpler and give quicker results than transferring or adopting ideas such as sports governance codes (McLeod *et al*. 2020).

Policy transfer from other countries

In regard to 'where' the policy will be transferred from, India could potentially engage in both cross-border and within nation transfer. Policy transfer in sport generally seems to have the character of role modelling, in which certain nations judged to be successful, either absolutely (in terms of total medals won, for example, USA, the former Eastern Bloc and China) or relative to their size or resources (e.g. Australia, Jamaica and Sweden), are selected as the target for reproduction in the home environment (Collins and Bailey 2013). If India was to go for a technical knowledge transfer, it could potentially look at the top four countries at the 2016 Olympics, the USA, China, the UK and Russia. All four have consistently been the top four at the 2008, 2012 and 2016 Summer Olympic Games, meaning they might definitely have some valuable inputs to give to India (ESPN n.d.). The USA, with its sporting performance and cordial relations with India is definitely considered to be a very strong sporting country that could potentially offer a lot (Tamkin 2020). The issue with the USA, however, could potentially be its 'protection mechanisms' within the university system which might restrict transfer (Tan *et al*. 2019). Contrarily, both the UK and Russia consider India to be very important and share good relations with India, which might then increase the chances of successful policy transfer at the technical knowledge level (Price 2019, Dave 2020, Tamkin 2020). It has also been acknowledged that the British rule in India influenced, not just the economic and political systems of the country but also had great social impacts which have shaped the attitudes and tastes of many Indians. The current good relations and the influence Britain has had on India could make it a good policy transfer option for India (Aggarwal n.d., Rowlatt 2017).

Unfortunately, relations between China and India are not the best with these nations considered to be rivals (Ahmed *et al*. 2020). Engaging in policy transfer with China might, therefore, not be feasible, even though China is one of the top sporting countries and could offer some valuable inputs. As a further consideration, China's recruitment (and turnover!) of foreign coaches would not suggest that they have everything completely sorted! That said, China being a large and complex country like India with a system of overseeing sport at the national level and the provincial level

(states in India) can, however, provide some valuable inputs to India, which will be explored in the following sections.

Along with a technical knowledge transfer, India could also potentially learn from other countries' mistakes. For example, after the missed opportunity from the 2012 Olympics, UK was criticised for prioritising hardware over liveware, that is, stadia over people (Nicholson *et al*. 2011, De Bosscher *et al*. 2015). Despite the criticism, this situation remains largely unchanged in UK and it, like many other nations, is still not giving sufficient importance to the development of liveware, mainly the development of coaches (e.g., Norman 2008, Nash *et al*. 2012). India could therefore learn from the UK's mistake and modify its current pathway by prioritising coaches over stadia.

Russia, along with being an option for technical knowledge transfer, could offer valuable inputs in other areas as well. Russia is also one of the BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India and China) countries that has successfully hosted the 2014 Winter Olympic Games and the 2018 FIFA World Cup. Another BRIC country that has successfully hosted mega-events is Brazil, with the Pan American Games in 2007 held in Rio de Janeiro, whereby Brazil successfully managed to hide the unsightly parts of the city (the poor neighbourhood and favelas) to organise the event, which then contributed in Brazil winning the bids for the 2014 FIFA World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games (Curi *et al*. 2011, Polson and Whiteside 2016). Whereas, India, despite its heavy focus on infrastructure development is the only BRIC country that has not even submitted a bid for either of the two premier mega-events, the Olympics and the FIFA World Cup. Although India hosted the Commonwealth Games in Delhi, the planning process was heavily criticised for being rife with corruption behind the scenes (Polson and Whiteside 2016). The 2011 NSCI was introduced precisely due to such instances and aimed to increase transparency and accountability of the sport governing bodies. Although such sport governance codes have not been eagerly embraced in non-Western countries, research highlights that such codes of governance have in fact already been enshrined in many Western countries (McLeod *et al*. 2020). With the BRIC countries having similar contextual conditions, India could, therefore, potentially use Russia or Brazil as source nations to understand how each of the two countries have managed to utilise their resources to successfully host mega-events (Polson and Whiteside 2016). Although, with a transfer from Russia, India would need to be cautious about the potential negative consequences of doping as that was one of the biggest criticisms of Russia prior to the 2012 and 2016 Olympic Games (Hermann 2019, Pound 2020).

India could therefore potentially engage in a cross-border transfer focused on technical knowledge or understanding how countries are using their resources to achieve sports development and subsequent success at the international stage. However, with India being such a large country with a very state-led system, a within country transfer could also be possible. Although the states in India all have different compositions, they do have many similarities. As it is more likely for countries to learn lessons from others if they share similar political structure, geography and ideology a within transfer might therefore help overcome issues (at least to a certain extent) of differences in ideology and political structure from other countries and 'fit' of policies from other nations (Cairney 2012). The following section will, therefore, explore the possibility of within transfer in India.

Policy transfer 'within' India

With India being a state-led country, it might be possible for states to learn from one another and transfer policy or for the national government to transfer policy from the State level across the nation. Chelladurai and Nair (2017) suggested that the top-down approach in India, where the central government has considerable involvement in promoting sports in general and excellence in sport in particular, should be reversed, meaning a more bottom-up approach should be introduced. This would mean that efforts in the sports field would emanate from the state governments and the excellence produced at the state level could then move up to the national level. The bottom-up approach could, in fact, be taken a step further by including 'street-level' implementers (those that will be responsible for implementing policies at the ground level) having some discretion in policy

formulation (Lipsky 1980). This, as evident from policy implementation literature, could also contribute to effective policy implementation. A bottom-up policy implementation might be more realisitc and practical as the implementing agencies would have a say in where they are going and how they wish to arrive at that point. Identifying the implementing agencies involved and exploring how they operate is crucial and an assumption that implementers attach the same meaning to policy measures as policymakers are not right. Good policy-making process produces policies that can be executed swiftly and successfully, for which close involvement, at the formulation stage, of those who actually implement the policy on the ground is essential. A bottom-up approach could therefore be beneficial, not just at the policy-formulation stage but also at the implementation stage. Although this approach would need to be carried out with caution and a degree of centralised control is absolutely necessary so that priorities and interests of implementers do not replace the public interest (DeLeon and DeLeon 2002, Agarwal and Somanathan 2005, Yadav 2010, Cairney 2012). As one UK example, we might highlight the role of Street Games (Street Games, n.d.) as an important start point into track and field, especially for certain ethnic groups.

Furthermore, as sport is a state subject, the state governments are responsible for sports development in their respective states which might make the bottom-up approach more feasible in India. Second, sporting talent at youth level are mostly embedded in educational institutions, which are completely under the jurisdiction of the state governments. Finally, with state governments getting involved in promoting and channelling excellence in sport, there is room for interstate rivalry to emerge and be positively exploited. Similarly, as each sport in India has developed to a different level (Chelladurai and Nair 2017), less-developed sports could potentially learn from the more developed sports. Although it is likely that states or sports may not have policies that are as good as or better than international policies, given India's complex contextual and application constraints, transferring within India should not be discarded without full consideration. It could be possible that the policy introduced by a state and/or sport might actually be really good, but may need some modifications or potentially be lacking in implementation.

An option for internal policy transfer could be to examine sports that have developed a successful system in spite of broader national policy issues, with a primary option being cricket. The Indian Premier League (IPL) contributes to the development of the Indian national cricket team as it provides an opportunity for young players to develop due to the rules around team composition (Agur 2013). The commercial interest in cricket, and especially the commercial success of the IPL, comes from a well-embedded appreciation for cricket in India with significant public interest plus a long history of success on the part of the Indian cricket team. With the success achieved by the IPL, both domestically and globally, similar leagues for different sports were introduced with an aim to emulate the IPL's success and popularity (Newsable 2021) . The Pro Kabaddi League (PKL), Indian Super League (ISL) and Premier Badminton League (PBL) have all successfully incorporated different aspects of the IPL and gained a significant viewership. For instance, similar to the IPL structure, the PBL provided an opportunity to young athletes to spend time with the current Indian champions within the sport (The Economic Times 2018). In fact, similar to the IPL, the PBL has successfully managed to increase overall player participation and talent identification (Subrahmanyam 2020). Similarly, taking inspiration from the IPL, the PKL used a strong Bollywood support to increase the probability of the league being successful. Although the IPL has certainly enjoyed a top position with 560 million viewers, the PKL, in its first season itself managed to gain a viewership of over 435 million whereas the ISL had 429 in the same year (Newsable 2021). Despite this impact of cricket and specifically the IPL on other sports, it is important to acknowledge the potential issues with policy transfer from cricket. As cricket remains unique in the context of India due to its aforementioned history, and successful record, transferring the same policies to other sports may therefore result in incomplete or inappropriate policy transfer.

Another option for internal transfer is a transfer from state level to national level. For example, the Talent Resource Development Wing (TRDW) in cricket was initially launched by the Karnataka State Cricket Association (KSCA) in 2001 to identify talent in the state. Following its local success, however,

the Board of Control for Cricket in India (BCCI), almost immediately implemented it throughout the country. Talent Resource Development Officers (TRDOs) were appointed to achieve the aims of no bias and selecting players purely based on their on-field performance. As match statistics may not give a complete picture of an athlete's talent, the TRDOs used a predetermined list of attributes to grade each athlete. The selected athletes trained at the National Cricket Academy (NCA) with each athlete being analysed and graded on their performance. A combination of identifying talent and providing necessary opportunities to develop athletes made the scheme a big success, evident from accomplishments achieved by cricketers, such as MS Dhoni and Suresh Raina. With the implementation of this prescribed format in TRDW, India hoped to follow Australia who, for a long time, had managed to dominate international cricket because of their rigorous domestic cricket circuit (Dinakar 2015, Varma 2016). Less-developed sports in India could therefore implement initiatives similar to the TRDW, with careful consideration of the various factors impacting policy transfer to potentially improve the TID systems they have in place. Although, as India has generally been identified to have lesser knowledge compared to top sporting countries, it could either take inspiration from another country that has an effective TID system or use a combination of knowledge about new concepts of TID from other countries but using a similar format to TRDW to implement it within India. Another example of a similar state to national level transfer is the KIYG which is known to draw inspiration from Khel Mahakumbh (loosely translated as 'sports gathering'), an initiative organised by the Government of Gujarat to create a sporting culture in the state, making sports an inseparable part of youths' life, and building a talent pool of outstanding athletes, through a month long Mahakumbh (Outlook 2010). The KIYG has similar aims but at the national level, whereby competitions are typically conducted at the local, district, state and national level with a hope to promote mass participation of youth in annual sports competitions, TID, developing sports infrastructure and inculcating a stronger sporting culture within the country (Government of India n.d.). KIYG is also aiming to create inter-state rivalry, to thereby push state governments to undertake more efforts to develop sport in their own states (Khelo India n.d.).

The KIYG seem to have a structure similar to China's National Games. In China, like in India, sport operates at the national and provincial level, which not only provides opportunities for more targeted development of sport but also leads to great variation in the level of competitors and the specific sports that are preferred (and that teams excel at). This provincial structure, with the National Games of China as a quadrennial focal point for high-level competition creates a pathway for high performing athletes and related infrastructure (both liveware and hardware) for developing national teams. Zheng *et al*. (2019) noted the value of these games in national-provincial relationships, as well as in athletes' selections for national teams, though they also found challenges in some provinces prioritising their own prestige over that of the national teams. This model of competition and associated recognition for provincial level structures that have nurtured athletes seems to have created a healthy level of competition within the nation and has contributed to the development of outstanding national squads across a range of sports. The KIYG, having a similar structure, might therefore really be a useful approach for India.

After organising the KIYG for two years, it has been considered to be a big success, with a viewership of over 100 million in 2018 which increased by 45% over three years and the participation of over 6000 athletes (Sanyal 2018, ANI 2020, Kulkarni 2020). The KIYG also provided an opportunity for different states to experience what it is like to host a multi-sports event that might help India have more alternatives to host one of the mega-events. Hosting the KIYG in different states also ensures the infrastructure is used and encourages the local authorities to invest in new facilities and promote sports. The experience and ambience of these games seems to provide athletes with a simulation of multi-sports events which might contribute to better prepare Indian athletes for an international event. Next, talent scouts (similar to the TRDOs) are appointed for TID and the identified athletes are then provided both the opportunity to train at the KIYG accredited academies and a monthly scholarship. Athletes have reported that this scholarship has helped them manage their training needs and other sport-specific expenses (Sarangi 2020). Success of the KIYG is

evident from the numerous youth athletes it has successfully identified and developed. For example, Komalika Bari and Anshu Malik who won medals at the World Youth Archery and Cadet Championship and the Asian Cadet Championship, respectively (The Bridge Desk 2020).

Despite the success achieved by KIYG, however, numerous issues may still need to be tackled. One of the potential main problems is that India lacks a culture of appreciation of sporting performance (Chandran 2016), a factor reported as a relative strength for China. Authors who have examined the high-performance system in China have highlighted that there is a well-established culture of appreciation of sporting performance which greatly contributes to the success of the National Games (Zheng *et al*. 2018, Ma and Kurscheidt 2019). The other issues reported with the KIYG are policy formulation and implementation related which, as identified earlier, has been an enduring criticism of Indian policymaking in general (Agarwal and Somanathan 2005). After introducing the KIYG, the following issues were highlighted as issues that may need to be tackled for increased success of the KIYG. Firstly, KIYG aimed to develop, popularise and encourage participation in those sports that do not receive enough attention, yet the media coverage mainly covered sports such as badminton and kabaddi which already had gained some popularity with the PBL and the PKL respectively, and therefore did not need any added promotion. Secondly, a further aim of the KIYG was to identify talent, but the selection of athletes mainly includes top participants from selected inter-school and federation competitions. This essentially means that already established athletes are selected, defeating the purpose of talent identification. Thirdly, an aim of KIYG was to acknowledge every coach that played a role in an athlete's success but the practicality of this or rather the system that may be needed to implement it, was not clearly identified (Sanyal 2018). Finally, the limited success achieved by Indian athletes, is often attributed to a lack in infrastructure and funding. India has, however, managed to develop many world-class facilities, but the performance of the majority of athletes still remains relatively poor (Saad 2016, National Sports Policy 2001 n.d., Dabholkar 2020). Despite this, India still continues to mainly invest in infrastructure development (The Economic Times 2020). In fact, for the last few years, significant sports persons from the Indian sports field have been emphasising the need to prioritise development of coaches rather than infrastructure (The Times of India 2017, Raj 2018). There is the potential for Indian coaches to have a major advantage over their foreign counterparts as they would understand how the Indian system and cultures work (Rediff Sports 2018). Unfortunately, coach development still does not seem to be the topmost priority. With the KIYG, India, seems to have potentially engaged in debating policy decisions after implementing the policy rather than before, possibly highlighting a lack of both learning from past experiences and an understanding of potential best ways to achieve international sporting success.

Conclusion

This paper has explored policies implemented for developing elite sport by the Indian government to the present day. The paper highlights a need for India to focus on policy implementation and a 'within' policy transfer (Agarwal and Somanathan 2005, Yadav 2010, Cairney 2012).

One of the key issues highlighted for the lack of sport development in India is a long-standing issue with deploying sport policies. An inadequate consideration of feasibility of the policy, lack of financial support and lack of updated knowledge were highlighted as the potential key factors contributing to the long-standing issues with policy implementation. Furthermore, a lack of understanding of the impact of previous policies was also highlighted as a probable reason contributing to the policy implementation issues. Policy learning is the information that emerges from the process and judgements about what is (and is not) working through formalised evaluation or more ad-hoc observations or information (May 1992). To get to the 'right' answer a detailed understanding of ways to address the policy problem is needed. Therefore, understanding why particular policies failed or were successful could greatly contribute to India's efforts of succeeding at international sports, especially at the Olympic Games.

Secondly and to facilitate a better understanding of ways to address the policy problem, India could engage in policy transfer. Policy transfer within the nation might be a better option for India than transferring policy from outside given the complex composition of the Indian setting. A focus on internal or within policy transfer would have two main advantages. Firstly, even though the states in India would have differences, the political structures and ideology would still be similar compared to the political structures and ideology of other countries. Such a similarity, as identified in the policy transfer literature, increases the chances of successful policy transfer. Secondly, an internal transfer might create more openness to the idea of looking 'within' for solutions to issues relating to sporting success. For instance, the TRDW being transferred from a state level to national level which provided the country with some successful players (Dinakar 2015, Varma 2016).

To conclude, with a within-country transfer, it is quite likely that policies within the Indian states may not necessarily be of international standards, but they might have greater chances of being successful considering the contextual and application constraints would more or less be the same. Additionally, with sport being a state subject in India, a bottom-up approach might really be advantageous. For instance, a policy that has been successful at the state level is implemented at the national level. India could also use a combination of knowledge transfer from other countries but use implementation ideas from within. This bottom-up approach may be taken a step forward, by involving implementing agencies or ground level policy implementers at the policy formulation stage which might increase the chances of successful policy implementation. Great caution would be needed while doing so, however, at least to ensure a degree of centralised control is maintained (DeLeon and DeLeon 2002, Agarwal and Somanathan 2005, Yadav 2010, Cairney 2012).

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

ORCID

Urvi Khasnis http://orcid.org/0000-0001-8791-5921
Dave Collins http://orcid.org/0000-0002-7601-0454

References

Abbott, A., *et al*., 2005. Unnatural selection: talent identification and development in sport. *Nonlinear dynamics, psychology, and life sciences*, 9 (1), 61–88.

Abbott, A. and Collins, D., 2004. Eliminating the dichotomy between theory and practice in talent identification and development: considering the role of psychology. *Journal of Sports Sciences*, 22 (5), 395–408. doi:10.1080/02640410410001675324.

Agarwal, O.P. and Somanathan, T.V., 2005. Public policy making in India : Issues and Remedies. New Delhi, India. *Centre for policy research occasional paper*, 1–28.

Aggarwal, M., 2020. Social and Economic Impact of British Rule in India [online]. *History Discussion*. Available from: https://www.historydiscussion.net/british-india/social-and-economic-impact-of-british-rule-in-india/1595 [Accessed 19 Oct 2020].

Agur, C., 2013. A foreign field no longer: India, the IPL, and the global business of cricket. *Journal of Asian and African studies*, 48 (5), 541–556. doi:10.1177/0021909613478907.

Ahmed, T., *et al*., 2020. Face-off between India and China in galwan valley: an analysis of Chinese incursions and interests. *Electronic research journal of social sciences and humanities*, 2 (3), 38–50.

ANI, 2020. Players participation has increased in Khelo India, says PM Modi in 'Mann Ki Baat' [online]. *ANI - South Asia's Leading Multimedia News Agency*. Available from: https://www.aninews.in/news/national/general-news/players-participation-has-increased-in-khelo-india-says-pm-modi-in-mann-ki-baat20200126185521 [Accessed 30 Mar 2021].

Basra, S., 2016. All-round excellence built through science is missing in Indian sport - Olympics India at Rio [online]. Available from: https://www.hindustantimes.com/olympics/all-round-excellence-built-through-science-is-missing-in-indian-sport/story-Xf9gnnG5iZlt3z7Kj61ZxH.html [Accessed 21 Jan 2020].

BBC News, 2016. Rio 2016: Sakshi Malik, the female wrestler who got India's first medal. *BBC News*, 18 Aug.

Bloyce, D. and Smith, A., 2009. *Sport policy and development: an introduction*. Abingdon: Routledge.
Bose, S., 2020. Don't spend big on elite athletes, government funding can be better used, says Pullela Gopichand in new book [online]. *Outlook*. Available from: https://www.outlookindia.com/website/story/sports-news-why-does-a-pv-sindhu-or-mary-kom-need-government-funding-asks-pullela-gopichand-in-new-book/346103 [Accessed 13 Oct 2020].
Business Standard News, 2019. AFI president calls for revamp in NIS coaching course [online]. Available from: https://www.business-standard.com/article/pti-stories/afi-president-calls-for-revamp-in-nis-coaching-course-119032001117_1.html [Accessed 21 Jan 2020].
Cairney, P., 2012. *Understanding public policy: theories and issues*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
Chandran, N., 2016. Why is India so bad at sport?, 20 Aug.
Chelladurai, P., *et al*., 2002. Sport in modern India: policies, practices and problems. *International journal of the history of sport*, 19 (2–3), 366–383. doi:10.1080/714001754.
Chelladurai, P., Shunmuganathan, D., and Stephen, S., 2011. India. *In*: M. Nicholson, R. Hoye, and B. Houlihan, eds. *Participation in Sports: international policy perspectives*. Abingdon: Routledge, 143–159.
Chelladurai, P. and Nair, U.S., 2017. India. *In*: E. Kristiansen, M.M. Parent, and B. Houlihan, eds. *Elite youth sport policy and management: a comparative analysis*. Abingdon: Routledge, 209–225.
Collins, D. and Bailey, R., 2013. 'Scienciness' and the allure of second-hand strategy in talent identification and development. *International journal of sport policy*, 5 (2), 183–191. doi:10.1080/19406940.2012.656682.
Collins, D. and Cruickshank, A., 2012. Preparing team GB for London 2012. *In*: Girginov, Vassil, ed. *Handbook of the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games: Volume One: Making theGames (pp. 128-143)*. Abingdon: Routledge, 114–129. doi:10.4324/9780203132517
Curi, M., Knijnik, J., and Mascarenhas, G., 2011. The Pan American Games in Rio de Janeiro 2007 : consequences of a sport mega-event on a BRIC country. *International review for the sociology of sport*, 46 (2), 140–156. doi:10.1177/1012690210388461.
Dabholkar, S., 2020. The Case for Industrialising Sports in India [online]. *The Wire*. Available from: https://thewire.in/sport/sport-khelo-india-olympics [Accessed 22 Oct 2020].
Dave, A., 2020. Integrated review: the UK's approach to India | RUSI [online]. *RUSI*. Available from: https://rusi.org/commentary/integrated-review-uks-approach-india [Accessed 8 Oct 2020].
De Bosscher, V., *et al*., 2015. *Successful elite sport policies: an International Comparison of the Sports Policy factors Leading to International Sporting Success (SPLISS 2.0) in 15 nations*. Maidenhead: Meyer and Meyer Sport.
DeLeon, P. and DeLeon, L., 2002. What Ever Happened to Policy Implementation? An Alternative Approach. *Journal of public administration research and theory*, 12 (4), 467–492. doi:10.1093/oxfordjournals.jpart.a003544.
Dinakar, S., 2015. TRDO - A system that unearthed Dhoni, Ishant and Raina - Gets thumbs up [online]. *Pressreader*. Available from: https://www.pressreader.com/search?query=trdo&languages=en&groupBy=Language&hideSimilar=0&type=1&state=1 [Accessed 30 Dec 2020].
Dolowitz, D.P. and Marsh, D., 2000. Learning from abroad: the role of policy transfer in contemporary policy-making. *Governance*, 13 (1), 5–23. doi:10.1111/0952-1895.00121.
ESPN, 2020. 2016 summer Olympics medal count [online]. *ESPN*. Available from: https://www.espn.co.uk/olympics/summer/2016/medals [Accessed 8 Oct 2020].
Farooqui, M., 2020. A mere Rs 50 crore rise in sports budget Olympics year a matter of concern. *Moneycontrol.com*, 6 Feb.
Government of India, 2007. *Sports bureau draft: comprehensive sports policy 2007*. Government of India. Ministry of Youth Affairs andSports.
Government of India, 2011. *National sports development code of India, 2011*.
Government of India, 2018. *Development of sporting culture*.
Government of India, n.d.a. *National sports policy 2001*.
Government of India, n.d.b. *Khelo India - national programme for development of sports*.
Green, M., 2004. Changing policy priorities for sport in England: the emergence of elite sport development as a key policy concern. *Leisure studies*, 23 (4), 365–385. doi:10.1080/0261436042000231646.
Green, M. and Houlihan, B., 2005. *Elite sport development: policy learning and political priorities*. Abingdon: Routledge.
Hannon, E., 2010. Why top athletes work for Indian Railways. *NDTV*, 10 Feb.
Hermann, A., 2019. The tip of the iceberg : the Russian doping scandal reveals a widespread doping problem. *Diagoras: international academic journal on Olympic studies 3*, 45–71.
Hindustan Times, 2018. India's first national sports university to be set up in Manipur [online]. *Hindustan Times*. Available from: https://www.hindustantimes.com/education/india-s-first-national-sports-university-to-be-set-up-in-manipur/story-dSEKwFEs2sjGfAIJoGbBnO.html [Accessed 4 Jan 2021].
Hogwood, B. and Gunn, L., 1984. *Policy analysis for the real world*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Houlihan, B., 2002. *Sport, Policy and Politics: a comparative analysis*. London: Routledge.
Houlihan, B. and Chapman, P., 2009. Modernisation and elite sport development in England and the United Kingdom: talent identification and coach development. *In*: S.S. Andersen, B. Houlihan, and L.T. Ronglan eds. *Managing Elite Sport Systems: research and practice*, 31–48. Routledge.

Houlihan, B. and Green, M., 2008. *Comparative elite sport development: systems, structures and public policy*. Oxford: Elsevier Ltd.
Houlihan, B. and Zheng, J., 2013. The Olympics and elite sport policy : where will it all end? *International journal of the history of sport*, 30 (4), 338–355. doi:10.1080/09523367.2013.765726.
Hoye, R., Nicholson, M., and Houlihan, B., 2010. *Sport and policy issues and analysis*. Oxford: Elsevier Ltd.
Jona, I.N. and Okou, F.T., 2013. Sports and religion. *Asian journal of management sciences and education*, 2 (1), 46–54.
Kaur, R. and Kaur, G., 2019. Effect of Indian political system on Indian sports. *International journal of management, technology and engineering*, 9 (1), 2636–2641.
Kesavan, 2016. Rio Olympics 2016: finals medals tally. *The Hindu*, 22 Aug.
Khelo India, n.d. Khelo India [online]. Available from: https://kheloindia.gov.in/about [Accessed 20 Jan 2020].
Kulkarni, A., 2020. Superb live coverage of Khelo India shows what other national sports federations are getting wrong [online]. *Scroll.in*. Available from: https://scroll.in/field/955213/superb-live-coverage-of-khelo-india-shows-what-other-national-sports-federations-are-getting-wrong [Accessed 30 Mar 2021].
Kumar, A., 2018. CWG 2018: why India's athletes may struggle against Aussie money and muscle [online]. *Business Standard News*. Available from: https://www.business-standard.com/article/current-affairs/cwg-2018-why-india-s-athletes-may-struggle-against-aussie-money-and-muscle-118040200079_1.html [Accessed 5 Oct 2020].
Laghate, G., 2017. Sports Minister Rajyavardhan Singh Rathore to cut SAI jobs by half [online]. *The Economic Times*. Available from: https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/sports/sports-minister-rajyavardhan-singh-rathore-to-cut-sai-jobs-by-half/articleshow/61537189.cms [Accessed 7 Oct 2020].
Lipsky, M., 1980. *Street-level bureaucracy : dilemmas of the individual in public services*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
Ma, Y. and Kurscheidt, M., 2019. The National Games of China as a governance instrument in Chinese elite sport: an institutional and agency analysis. *International journal of sport policy and politics*, 11 (4), 679–699. doi:10.1080/19406940.2019.1633383.
Mahapatra, R., 2020. How India remains poor: 'It will take 7 generations for India's poor to reach mean income' [online]. *DownToEarth*. Available from: https://www.downtoearth.org.in/news/economy/how-india-remains-poor-it-will-take-7-generations-for-india-s-poor-to-reach-mean-income–68898 [Accessed 21 Mar 2021].
Maheshwari, S.R., 2003. Politics of implementation: the Achilles' heel of public administration. *Indian journal of public administration*, 49 (4), 679–692. doi:10.1177/0019556120030401.
May, P., 1992. Policy learning and failure. *Journal of public policy*, 12 (4), 331–354. doi:10.1017/S0143814X00005602.
McLeod, J., Shilbury, D., and Zeimers, G., 2020. An institutional framework for governance convergence in sport: the case of India. *Journal of sport management*, 35 (2), 144–157. doi:10.1123/jsm.2020-0035.
Mukherjee, S., 2020. India's low per capita income worrying, needs to be looked at: sitharaman | business Standard News [online]. *Business Standard*. Available from: https://www.business-standard.com/article/economy-policy/india-s-low-per-capita-income-worrying-needs-to-be-looked-at-sitharaman-120081201518_1.html [Accessed 21 Mar 2021].
Nash, C., *et al*., 2012. Parameterising expertise in coaching: past, present and future. *Journal of Sports Sciences*, 30 (10), 985–994. doi:10.1080/02640414.2012.682079.
National sports policy 2001 n.d. Government of India. Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports
Navigus Blogs, 2017. Importance of sports as a career choice in India [online]. *Navigus Blogs*. Available from: https://navigus.in/blog/how-to-start-career-in-sports [Accessed 25 Jun 2020].
Newsable, 2021. Pro Kabaddi League and IPL: a tale of the two most successful sporting leagues in India [online]. *Newsable*. Available from: https://newsable.asianetnews.com/sports/pro-kabaddi-league-and-ipl-a-tale-of-the-two-most-successful-sporting-leagues-in-india-ayh-qpp9ow [Accessed 29 Mar 2021].
Nicholson, M., Hoye, R., and Houlihan, B., 2011. *Participation in Sport: international policy perspectives*. Abingdon: Routledge.
Norman, L., 2008. The UK coaching system is failing women coaches. *International journal of sports science & coaching*, 3 (4), 447–476. doi:10.1260/174795408787186431.
Olympic Gold Quest [online], n.d. Available from: https://www.olympicgoldquest.in [Accessed 3 Mar 2020].
Otamendi, F.J., Doncel, L.M., and Martín-Gutiérrez, C., 2020. Meeting expectations at the 2016 Rio Olympic games : country potential and competitiveness. *Social science quarterley*, 101 (2), 656–677. doi:10.1111/ssqu.12764.
Outlook, 2010. Modi inaugurates 'Khel Mahakumbh'. *Outlook*.
Pai, T.M. and Holla, N., 2020. India's $5-trillion GDP journey: contribution of each state crucial. *The Financial Express*, 3 Mar.
Pankhurst, A., 2014. *Exploring stakeholder coherence in an effective talent*. Identification and Development Environment Doctoral dissertation, University of Central Lancashire, United Kingdom.
Phillpots, L., 2013. An analysis of the policy process for physical education and school sport: the rise and demise of school sport partnerships. *International journal of sport policy*, 5 (2), 193–211. doi:10.1080/19406940.2012.666558.
Polson, E. and Whiteside, E., 2016. Getting in the game? A rising India and the question of global sport. *International journal of communication*, 10, 3085–3105.
Pound, R.W., 2020. The Russian doping scandal: some reflections on responsibility in sport governance. *Journal of olympic studies*, 1 (1), 3–21.

Price, G., 2019. A strategic overview of UK-India relations- India Global Business [online]. *India inc*. Available from: https://indiaincgroup.com/a-strategic-overview-of-uk-india-relations-india-global-business [Accessed 8 Oct 2020].

Raj, P., 2018. India lacks quality coaches: pullela Gopichand | badminton News - Times of India [online]. Available from: https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/sports/badminton/india-lacks-quality-coaches-pullela-gopichand/articleshow/65895140.cms [Accessed 21 Jan 2020].

Ramesh, A., 2019. Why Neeraj Chopra is among India's biggest medal hopefuls in Tokyo Olympics. *India Today*, 26 Jul.

Rasquinha, V., 2018. Viren Rasquinha dreams of a coaching system for coaches [online]. Available from: https://www.livemint.com/Sports/znBLvSkWDqcTvjEFpTBzZO/Viren-Rasquinha-dreams-of-a-coaching-system-for-coaches.html [Accessed 21 Jan 2020].

Rediff Sports, 2018. 'Why the obsession with foreign coaches?' [online]. Available from: https://www.rediff.com/sports/report/why-the-obsession-with-foreign-coaches-cwg-akhil-kumar/20180327.htm [Accessed 28 Mar 2020].

Riordan, J. and Krüger, A., 1999. *The International politics of sport in the twentieth century*. London: Taylor and Francis.

Rose, R., 1993. *Lesson-drawing in public policy : a guide to learning across time and space*. Chatham, N.J.: Chatham House Publishers.

Rowlatt, J., 2017. Independence: do Indians care about the British any more? [online]. *BBC News*. Available from: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-40887900 [Accessed 19 Oct 2020].

Saad, M., 2016. 'Lack of sporting infrastructure and facilities is the real problem' [online]. *The Sunday Guardian Live*. Available from: https://www.sundayguardianlive.com/books/5198-lack-sporting-infra-and-facilities-real-problem [Accessed 10 Feb 2020

Sajad, K., 2018. Our Games: Rajiv Ouseph says 'being sporty is not seen as the thing to do'. *BBC Sport*, 9 Apr.

Sanyal, P., 2018. Hit or miss: re-evaluating the success of Khelo India School Games [online]. *The Bridge*. Available from: https://thebridge.in/featured/hit-or-miss-re-evaluating-the-success-of-khelo-india-school-games [Accessed 8 Oct 2020].

Sarangi, Y.B., 2020. Khelo India, a winner amid the anti-CAA protests in Assam [online]. *Sportstar*. Available from: https://sportstar.thehindu.com/magazine/caa-nrc-assam-protests-khelo-india-youth-games-srihari-nataraj-swimmer/article30729547.ece [Accessed 31 Dec 2020].

Shibli, S., de Bosscher, V., and Van Bottenburg, M., 2014. Measuring and forecasting elite sporting success. *In*: I. Henry and L.-M. Ko, eds. *Routledge Handbook of Sport Policy*. London: Routledge, 238–250.

Shirotriya, A.K., 2019. Conceptual framework for redesigning the sports policy of India. *International research journal of physical education, health education, and sports sciences*, 8 (1), 27–37.

Street Games, n.d. What we do | streetGames [online]. Available from: https://www.streetgames.org/what-we-do [Accessed 18 Oct 2020].

Subrahmanyam, V., 2020. Premier Badminton League: a starry affair looking for financial stardust - Sportstar [online]. *Sportstar*. Available from: https://sportstar.thehindu.com/magazine/indian-badminton-pbl-pv-sindhu-tai-tzu-indian-premier-league-ipl-coronavirus/article32531500.ece [Accessed 27 Mar 2021].

Subramaniam, K., 2020. Making India play again: loose ends in the khelo India scheme restrain talent [online]. *The Bastion: Development in Depth*. Available from: https://thebastion.co.in/politics-and/sports/grassroots-development/making-india-play-again-loose-ends-restrain-talent-in-the-khelo-india-scheme [Accessed 31 Dec 2020].

Tamkin, E., 2020. Why India and Russia are going to stay friends [online]. *Foreign Policy*. Available from: https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/07/08/russia-india-relations [Accessed 8 Oct 2020].

Tan, T.C., Zheng, J., and Dickson, G., 2019. Policy transfer in elite sport development: the case of elite swimming in China. *European sport management quarterly*, 19 (5), 645–665. doi:10.1080/16184742.2019.1572768.

Taylor, P., *et al*., 2015. *A review of the social impacts of culture and sport*. Available from: http://shura.shu.ac.uk/9596/1/review-social-impacts-culture-sport.pdf [Accessed 4 May 2021].

The Bridge Desk, 2020. Seven Khelo India stars who hit the success road at an early age [online]. *The Bridge Desk*. Available from: https://thebridge.in/featured/seven-khelo-india-stars-hit-success-road-early-age/ [Accessed 31 Dec 2020].

The Economic Times, 2018. Badminton: badminton has grown rapidly, and the challenge now is keeping up with its own success - The Economic Times [online]. *The Economic Times*. Available from: https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/sports/badminton-has-grown-rapidly-and-the-challenge-now-is-keeping-up-with-its-own-success/articleshow/62700613.cms?utm_source=contentofinterest&utm_medium=text&utm_campaign=cppst [Accessed 29 Mar 2021].

The Economic Times, 2019a. India Economy Growth rate: india's economy to be world's 2nd fastest growing at 6%, 27 Sep.

The Economic Times, 2019b. Dipa Karmakar feels Gen-Z shining in sports as parents look beyond studies. *The Economic Times*, 2 Aug.

The Economic Times, 2020. Sports Ministry upgrades six centres to CoE, sanctions Rs 67.32 crore as financial support [online]. *The Economic Times*. Available from: https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/sports/sports-ministry-upgrades-six-centres-to-coe-sanctions-rs-67-32-crore-as-financial-support/articleshow/79098315.cms [Accessed 31 Dec 2020].

The Financial Express, 2016. Here's how Rs 36.85 crore was spent by Indian government on Rio Olympics 2016, 12 Sep.

The New Indian Express, 2019. All NSFs must comply with National Sports Code: rijiju- [online]. *The New Indian Express*. Available from: https://www.newindianexpress.com/sport/other/2019/jul/05/all-nsfs-must-comply-with-national-sports-code-rijiju-1999758.html [Accessed 7 Oct 2020].

The Times of India, 2017. VVS Laxman demands developing quality coaches in India. *The Times of India Sports*, 29 Nov.

Thomas, M., 2016. Rio Olympics 2016: PV Sindhu becomes the first Indian woman to win a silver medal after a heartbreakingly close badminton final. *Quartz India*, 19 Aug.

Times of India, 2019. Encourage your kids to take up sports, PV Sindhu urges parents. *Times of India*, 2 Oct.

UK Sport, n.d. How we find the talent [online]. *UK Sport*. Available from: https://www.uksport.gov.uk/our-work/talent-id/how-we-find-the-talent [Accessed 10 Oct 2020].

Varma, D., 2016. BCCI program that discovered MS Dhoni, Suresh Raina is back again. *In*: *Cricket Country*, 17 Feb.

Yadav, S., 2010. Public policy and governance in India: the politics of implementation. *The Indian journal of political science*, 71 (2), 439–457.

Zheng, J., *et al*., 2018. Sport policy in China (Mainland). *International journal of sport policy and politics*, 10 (3), 469–491. doi:10.1080/19406940.2017.1413585.

Zheng, J., *et al*., 2019. Interorganisational conflict between national and provincial sport organisations within China's elite sport system: perspectives from national organisations. *Sport management review*, 22 (5), 667–681. doi:10.1016/j.smr.2018.10.002.